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THE
Thirteenth Chapter
TO THE
ROMANS,

Vindicated from the

Abuſive Senſes put upon it.

Written by a *Curate* of SALOP;

And directed to the *Clergy* of *that County*, and the Neighbouring Ones of *North-Wales*; To whom the Author wiſheth Patience, Moderation, and a Good Underſtanding, for Half an Hour.

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The 13*th Chapter to the* Romans, *Vindicated from the Abuſive Senſes put upon it.*

MY Buſineſs having drawn me up to *London* in the Winter, I had the Opportunity of Hearing the *Trial* of the famous Doctor, from the Beginning to the End: and was thereby inform'd of abundance of Things, of which I was before ignorant; and enabled, as I thought, to ſet *you* right alſo, and to correct a great many Miſtakes, into which I found We had all of us been led. When I firſt came to *Town*, it was between the Preaching of his Sermon, and his being *Impeach'd* for it: and I believe, I may ſafely affirm, there were not Ten Men of Senſe and Character, in all the *City*, but did abſolutely condemn that Diſcourſe, as a Rhapſody of incoherent ill-digeſted Thoughts, dreſs'd in the worſt Language that could be found. They ſaid it became not a *Miniſter* of the Goſpel, for the Spirit with which it was compoſed; nor a *Doctor*, for the Argumentative Part of it; nor a tolerable *Engliſhman*, for the Style and Expreſſion. In a word; neither the *Matter*, nor the *Manner* of the *Sermon* pleaſed any one. This, I am ſure, was then the Untainted Judgment of the *Town*. The Man was thorougly deſpis'd, both by his Friends, and Enemies, for this Performance. Upon the *Impeachment* indeed Matters were much changed, and the Sermon mended ſtrangely. The *High-Church* Party took the *Sermon*, and the *Preacher*, into their Protection, and made his Cauſe their own; not changing their Opinion, nor valuing *either* at the Price of a Pin, but making it a Handle and Occaſion of bringing their loſt and abandon'd Cauſe into Countenance again, and of playing their Game anew with more Advantage. They gain'd at firſt on *the devout and honourable Women*,

who whiſper'd back to them, That if they had the Courage to reſume the Poſts they had been lately driven from, there never was an Opportunity more favourable than now: I may not tell you abundance of Things that I then heard from good Hands: We quickly ſaw how the Cauſe thriv'd in its Management, and what Arts were uſed to make weak People believe, *the Church was endanger'd* in that *Trial*, and *Tried* together with her *Champion:* This was then the Talk of credulous Women, ſhallow Men, and of young Preachers, and of many of my Countrymen and *Fellow Curates*; from whom, I doubt not, our Neighbour ſtole the Thought, and put it into his *elegant Addreſs.* Whereas to Me, the *Church* appear'd to be no more concern'd in This Diſpute, than the Mountain, at whoſe bottom my Houſe ſtands. The Diſpute, I plainly ſaw, was who ſhould have the good *Places*, the profitable *Poſts*, and *Offices* of *Honour.* The *Peace* was then in View, and both Sides began to beſtir themſelves; the One to *keep* the Seats they were already in, the Other to *remove them*, and place their Betters in; imagining, that as Things ſettled at *the Peace*, there they would fix and continue. But let them ſettle where they will, the *Church*, I dare engage, will be no whit the better, unleſs we will account that half a ſcore Seditious, Bold *Incendiaries*, are *the Church. Theſe* indeed will be Gainers, as you will ſhortly ſee; and that will be all the Advantage the *Church* will get by this warm Controverſy.

Sir *J. Pa---on.*

There is nothing ſo conceited as a Man that has lately been at *London*, and let into ſome *Secret Hiſtory*, and kept Company for an Hour or two, with ſome *Great Folks* above his Quality. This, I own, was my Condition, and I believed that as ſoon as I ſhould get down into the Country, I ſhould carry all before me, and quickly convince you, that you had wrong Notions of Things, underſtood very little of the Springs of publick Affairs, and were carried away into a Thouſand Errors. That you are ſtill as blind as

Beetles,

Beetles, I am very ſure; but that you are capable of being convinced, and ſet right in any of theſe Matters, is what I now doubt very much; ſince I have ſeen you ſo unanimous in affirming the Doctor to be *a Man of Parts*, and *great Defender of the Church*, and that the *Churches* Intereſt and *His* were inſeparable; and that all who were *againſt Him*, were *Enemies to the Church*, with a great many ſuch like fooliſh and abſurd Propoſitions. When I ſaw this, I eaſily forgave your counting *Six* to be more than *Seven*, and *Fifty two* to be as many again as *Sixty nine*: Theſe I thought might better be maintain'd, (by oppoſing *Weight* to *Number*) than the other, which betrays ſuch a Defect of Judgment, as is not to be rectified or remedied. But that which gave me moſt trouble, in all our Bickerings, was, methoughts, that obſtinate, vexatious Citation of *The 13th Chapter to the Romans*, which was thrown at my Head upon all Occaſions. I could not mention the *Revolution*, *K. William*, the *H. of C*------, *Liberties of the Subject*, nor any thing like them, but preſently I was deſired to look into the *13th Chap. to the Romans*. I no ſooner urged that Sir *S. H.* and all the Doctor's *Council* had defended the *Revolution* and the *Reſiſtance* that brought it about, as ſtrenuouſly and openly, and in as plain Terms, as the *Managers* themſelves had done; and that the preſent Archbiſhop of *Y.* had given up all that they contended for, in making *the Laws of the Land the Meaſure of the Subjects Submiſſion and Obedience*; as good K. *Charles* the I. had own'd *the Law to be the Meaſure of his Power*, in His *Declaration* from *New-Market*, *March* 9. 1641. I had, I ſay, no ſooner urged theſe things, and others to the like Purpoſe, but that a *Bible* was brought, which opened of it ſelf at *the 13th Chapter to the Romans*, and I was bid to ſee what I could make of it. This, as I was a *Curate*, gave me more Concern than all you ſaid beſides, and ſo I reſolved to ſee and read that Chapter through and through, and give you my Thoughts of it; which I now ſend you in *Print*, for the Edification of my Country,

and

and good Neighbours. It coſt me the more Pains, becauſe I was to ſpin it (as it were) out of my own Brains, not being allowed, as it ſhould ſeem, to conſult any *Commentators*, either of the *Popiſh* or the *Proteſtant Party abroad*; ſince I was every Day told, that *the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance, was a Doctrine Peculiar to the Church of* England. Now altho' a Doctrine ſeldom recommends it ſelf to me by its *Peculiarity*; yet I thought it would be to no Purpoſe to cite either *Proteſtant* or *Papiſt*, who would not be believed or truſted in the Matter. And yet, I tell you, it is no little Prejudice to a Doctrine of ſuch Importance, to have both *Proteſtant* and *Popiſh* Writers favour it ſo little as they do: Nor is it a little abſurd, to ſay a Doctrine is *Peculiar* to a Church, when it pretends to come from *Chriſt*, to be taught by the Apoſtles, and by all the *Primitive Writers*. I deſire after the Example of other *Great Authors*, that I may firſt *ſuppoſe* ſome few things, as *Poſtulata*, and then make *Arguments* and *Inferences* from them, in the manner following.

I. I ſuppoſe that the *Epiſtle to the Romans* (of which the 13th Chapter is ſo notable a part) tho' immediately directed to the Chriſtians of *that Empire*, was yet intended by St. *Paul*, for the Uſe, Inſtruction and Direction of *all the Chriſtians* in the World beſides.

II. I ſuppoſe that, at what time the *13th Chap. to the Romans* might be written, there were as many different Governments in the World, as there are at this Day. I will name but Four. *1ſt*, An *Abſolute Monarchy*, ſuch as the *Roman Empire* then was, and the *Turkiſh* one now is. Where the *Will* of the Prince was *the Law*. *2dly*, A *limited and mixed Monarchy*, as that of the *Quadi* was of old, and *England* is now thought to be. Where the Prince governed by a Body of known Laws, made by himſelf together with a *Chamber* of *Nobles*, and a *Chamber* of Sage and Subſtantial Perſons, choſe out of the *Commonalty*, to repreſent them. He could *make no new Law* by himſelf, nor could

could he *abrogate an old one*; nor could he ſo explain a *doubtful* controverted Paſſage of a Law, as to make it paſs for Law, by his *ſingle Authority*. He had the Power of appointing all ſuch as ſhould *execute* the Laws. He had alſo the Power of *the Sword*; he could make *War* and *Peace*, but he could not of himſelf, raiſe any Money, either to pay the *Civil Liſt*, or to pay the *Soldiers*; nor could he appoint his *Succeſſor*. In a word, it was juſt ſuch another Government, as that of *England* is, under a *King*, a *Houſe of Lords*, and *Commons*. And if any of you doubt whether the *Quadi* were really and in truth thus governed at that time, I will not refer you to the Writers of thoſe times for my Juſtification, but deſire only to ſuppoſe there *might be* ſuch a Government; which is not unreaſonable, becauſe you know there actually *is* ſuch a one, namely, our own of *Great Britain*. 3*dly*, An *Ariſtocratical* Government, like that of *Venice*, where the *Senators* truly govern all, but with a *Duke* at their Head, of little *Real*, but of much *Ceremonial* Significancy. 4*thly*, A *Commonwealth* like that of the *Seven Provinces* with a *Stadtholder* for their *Captain General*. Theſe Four Sorts of Government I take leave to ſuppoſe there were, or at leaſt *might have been*, when the 13*th Chap. to the Romans* was written.

III. I ſuppoſe the 13*th Chap. to the Romans*, made no immediate *Change* of all, or any of theſe Four Governments; but left them as they found them. Each of them continued, or might have continued, as it ſtood before *that Chapter* was written; neither of them became more or leſs lawful, innocent, or convenient, than they were before St. *Paul* appeared: It gave the *Governing Part* of each, no *more* Power than it had before; nor did it put the *Governed Party* into any *worſe* Eſtate and Condition.

IV. As the 13*th Ch. to the Rom*, *unſettled* no Government that was then ſettled; nor made any manner of Change that we know of: So neither did it *ſettle* or *fix* any Government in ſuch a manner, as to make it un-

unlawful for the *Legiſlative Power* (ſhould it ſee fit) to change or alter it. An *Abſolute Monarch* might, if he had pleaſed, have condeſcended to govern by *known Laws*, and might have obliged himſelf to govern by *no other* Laws; and might have diſcharged the People from obeying him, whenever he ſhould go about to overthrow thoſe known Laws: And of this he might appoint 12 or more *Great Officers* to be the *Judges*, who ſhould determine, whether ſuch and ſuch Commands, if executed, would overthrow thoſe known Laws; and conſequently whether the People were obliged to execute thoſe Orders and Commands. One may ſuppoſe *the 13th Chap. to the Romans* would not hinder this *Arbitrary Prince*, from making theſe Condeſcentions, nor from obliging himſelf to ſtand to them when made. Neither would the *13th Chap. to the Romans* forbid or hinder a *Limited Monarchy* from becoming an *Abſolute* one, ſhould all that are concerned freely conſent to make it ſo. In a word, it is but reaſonable to think, that every Eſtate and Government knows its own Defects the beſt, and beſt knows how to ſupply and remedy thoſe Defects, by changing the *Place* of Power, and putting it into proper Hands, in what Degree or Meaſure it thinks fit, and moſt conducive to its own Advantage: For all Governments have *the ſame Authority*; but differ in the *Exerciſe* and *Adminiſtration* of it.

V. The *13th Chap. to the Romans* is therefore a much *quieter* Chapter than moſt People imagine. It *changed* no Government: It *ſettled* none unalterably; It made no Freemen *Slaves*; It made no Slaves *Freemen*. It left every Nation to be governed by its own Laws; and if they could *mend* thoſe Laws, they might: And if they ſhould part with them for *worſe*, it did not forbid them doing ſo. It bids *every Soul be ſubject to the Higher Powers* - - - - - but it does not tell us, *who* thoſe *Higher Powers are*: It ſends us to the *Laws* of the *Conſtitution*, to learn where they are placed. The *Higher Powers* at *Rome* were not, at that time, the *Emperor*, the *Senate*, and the *People*, conjunctly, but the *Empe-*

ror

ror, the *Senate*, and the *People* conjunctly, but the *Emperor alone*. The *Higher Powers* among the *Quadi* were the *Prince*, *The Upper and Lower Chambers*; in the *Legiſlature*, the Power of *raiſing Taxes*, and *appointing the Succeſſion*; but the Prince *alone* in *Fighting* and *executing Laws*. The Higher Powers in the *Ariſtocracy*, and in the *Commonwealth*, were much as they now are in *Venice*, and the *Seven Provinces*. This we learn not from the *13th Chap. to the Romans*, but from the Hiſtories of their ſeveral Conſtitutions. The *13th Chap. to the Rom.* tells us, *that the Powers that be, are ordained of God*; therefore it tells us, that *Arbitrary Monarchy*, that *Limited Monarchy*, that *Ariſtocracy*, and a *Commonwealth* are ordained of God; that they are, each of them, alike *the Ordinance of God*. And the ſame *Chapter* ſays, *that they who reſiſt the Ordinance of God, ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation* --- Therefore it ſays, that whoſoever reſiſteth in an *Arbitrary*, or a *Limited Monarchy*, in an *Ariſtocracy* or in a *Commonwealth*, ſhall receive to himſelf Damnation, *i. e.* It ſays in ſhort, that a Man may be a *Rebel* in or againſt any Sort, or Species of Government; and that a *Rebel*, without Repentance, *ſhall be damned*. But does it tell us, what *Rebellion* is? Or what Sort of *Reſiſtance* it is, that makes a Man a *Rebel?* This innocent Chapter, to my thinking, ſays nothing of the Matter----- it leaves us to learn from the *Laws and Conſtitutions* of each Government, *what Obedience* is required at the Subjects Hands: What it is to be *a Rebel*; and *what Reſiſtance* is adjudged *Rebellion*. And ſince it leaves each Kingdom to be govern'd by its own Laws, (as is above ſhewn) and to change thoſe Laws, as it ſees convenient, it follows manifeſtly, that ſuch, or ſuch an Act of *Reſiſtance*, may be *Rebellion* in *one Country*, and *not* in another; and (in the ſame Country) at *one time*, and at another time (when the Law is changed) it may be *no Rebellion*; and that which once was *damnable*, may now be *innocent* and *juſtifiable*. We may therefore learn from the *13th Chap. to the Romans*, that *Rebellion* is at all times *damnable*; but we cannot learn from thence, *what is Rebellion*. That the Laws

of the Land must teach us: The Chapter forbids *Resistance*, but, truly, the *Laws* must tell us what *Resistance* is, and in what Case it is *forbidden*.

VI. The 13*th Chap. to the Romans* commands *Submission to the Higher Powers*. The Laws of the *Empire* may say, that this Submission (with Respect to the *Roman Emperor*) must be *Submission without Reserve*: The Chapter therefore may say, that the Submission of the *Roman* Subjects, was *Submission without Reserve*. But does the 13*th Chap. to the Romans* say the same thing to the Subjects of the *Quadian Monarchy*, with respect to *their King*? When the Laws of their Government tell them, that *their King*, is not *a Roman Emperor*, nor has the sole *Legislative Power* lodged in his Hands, nor can raise *a Penny of Money*, without both *Chambers*; Does this Chapter tell the People, that they must submit *without Reserve*, to what Laws the Prince shall think fit to make of his own Head? And must pay whatever Taxes shall be laid upon them by *him*, without Consent of *both Chambers*? Does the *Chapter bind* them, where the *Laws* have *freed* them? If not, 'tis manifest, the *Laws of the Land* are to instruct us, what Submission is required from the Subject to the Prince, and in what Cases it ought not either to be *ask'd* or *paid*. The Higher Powers, in the *Aristocracy* of *Venice*, are the *Duke*, and the *Senators*: The 13*th Chap. to the Romans* bids the Subjects of that State submit themselves to the *Duke*, *and Senators*. But does that Chapter bid them pay the same Submission to the *separate Orders of the Duke*, as to the *Decrees* of the *Senators* conven'd with him in the *Great Council*, if so be that the Laws of that State forbid the Subjects to pay Obedienee to such separate Orders of the *Duke*, unless confirm'd by the Decrees of the *Senate*, in due Form? Will any Man say, the 13*th Chap. to the Rom.* commands the Subjects to pay such Acts of Obedience, as the *Laws* of that *State* discharge them from paying, and require them not to pay? The *Duke* is to be obeyed, where the *Laws* say he is to be obeyed, and not otherwise. And if a Man should say, S. *Paul* required the contrary, they would stop his Mouth

Mouth with S. *Mark*; They would put him into a *Sack*, and throw him into the *Adriatick Gulph*.

VII. It is not therefore to be endured, that the 13 *Ch. to the Romans* ſhould be ſo ſlander'd, as it has of late been: Since it only requires ſuch Obedience and Submiſſion, as the Laws of every Government require at the Subjects hands, neither *more* nor *leſs*; for if it required either *more* or *leſs*, it would alter and unſettle Governments; it would *change* the *Power* of the *Rulers*, and the *Liberties* of the *People*; it would make the one more or leſs *abſolute*, the other more or leſs *free*, and quite ſubvert *Eſtabliſhments*, and turn the whole World upſide downwards: The contrary to all which has been ſhewn above, and in its way demonſtrated.

VIII. I do not therefore intreat you, Not to be Slaves your ſelves; nor intreat you not to court Oppreſſion, Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power; nor intreat you, not to abuſe your Fellow Subjects for maintaining the Liberties and Privileges which the *Laws* of their Country have allowed them; I do not now ſo much intreat you in theſe Matters, as I intreat you, not to abuſe the *Word of God*; not to traduce S. *Paul*; not to ſpeak evil of *the Chriſtian Doctrine*; as tho' theſe did not only barely favour, but encourage, and command, the Slavery of the Subject, and the Prince's Arbitrary Power, if he ſhould pleaſe to aſſume it. Let *the Scriptures* alone, and make not *them* ſubſervient to the baſe and villanous Deſigns of wicked Men that would enthrall their Countrey. If they in whoſe hands the *Legiſlative Power* is lodged, ſhall now, or hereafter, give up the Liberties and Privileges we now enjoy as *Engliſhmen*, it will be time enough then to ſubmit to our accurſed Fortune. *That* is a Power, we know not how to diſallow, or diſobey. *There*, we ſhall ſee and feel the Weight of S. *Paul*'s Authority, preſſing Submiſſion to the Lawful Powers, and calling for Obedience to the Rulers, that are ſet over us. *Reſiſtance* in that Caſe, ſhall be accounted *damnable*. Let *the Laws of our Country* firſt bind our *Hands*, and then S. *Paul* will bind thoſe Laws upon our *Conſciences*. But do not wrong that *Saint*,

by saying that *he* hath made us Slaves, before the *Laws of our Country* have made us so. In this, I intreat you to spare the *13th Chapt. to the Romans.*

IX. But, it may be, you will say, *the 13th Chapter to the Romans,* presses Submission on the Christians, to a Prince that was the very Worst of Men, a Monster of all Tyranny and Cruelty: And therefore that it is not now perverted or abused, when brought to enforce Submission to the like Commands of other Princes. To this I answer, that it is not to be proved, with any certainty, in whose Reign, or at what time, *the Epistle to the Romans* was written. But let the *Passive Doctors* take it for granted, that it was written when *Nero* reigned; and (if they like it the better for that) just when he caused the City of *Rome* to be set on Fire, and strung his Harp on that occasion: Or when he gave his Orders out to have *his Mother* kill'd; or in what Fit of Enormous Wickedness they please to place Him. What, I would know, is all this, to the Other Parts of the World, who were govern'd by Milder Princes, and liv'd under Laws both Just and Merciful? Where it was not allowed to the Prince to Govern by his own Will and Pleasure, but by known and settled Rules of Wisdom and Equity? Were the Subjects of these *Other States* and Kingdoms obliged, immediately upon the Writing this *Epistle to the Romans,* to conform themselves to the Example of the Subjects of the *Empire*, and pay their Princes the same Obedience and Submission, that were paid to *Nero?* If not, what signifies it who was then Emperor; or whether He were good or bad? And would it not be a sort of Blasphemy against the Christian Doctrine, to say, the Subjects of other States and Kingdoms were *Free* by the *Laws of their Country*, but, by their *Conversion* to Christianity, became immediately *Slaves* to the Will and Pleasure of their several Princes, in the same Measure and Degree, that the People of *Rome* were Slaves to *Nero*? When I intend to Renounce Christianity, I may say this thing of it, but not before. But if these States and Kingdoms were not oblig'd (by their becoming Christian, and receiving *the Epistle to the Romans* for *the Word of God*) to

conform

conform their ſeveral Governments to that of *Rome*, to become themſelves Slaves, and to make their Princes abſolute as *Nero* was; Why then is the 13*th Chapter to the Romans* urged to make thoſe People Slaves, after the Example of the *Romans*, whoſe Government was never like the *Roman Government*? Why may we not as well *hold faſt* our Legal Liberties, after the Example of thoſe *Other Kingdoms*, who continued to be Free, notwithſtanding their becoming *Chriſtians*, and receiving the *Epiſtle to the Romans* for the Inſpired Word of God? How ſhould it enter into any ſerious Man's Belief, that, becauſe the *Romans* were to ſubmit themſelves to *Nero*, who was an *Arbitrary Prince*, in Inſtances of great Tyranny and Cruelty; therefore the *Quadi* muſt ſubmit themſelves to *Cotylas* their Prince, in the like Inſtances of Tyranny and Cruelty: altho' by the Laws of that Kingdom, *Cotylas* was not an *Arbitrary Prince*, but bound by his Oath, to Govern by known Laws, which expreſsly ſaid, *The People were not to be treated in ſuch a manner*? Suppoſe St. *Paul* had lived about 30 years ago, and had taken occaſion to write to the *Chriſtians* at *Conſtantinople*, living under the *Turkiſh Emperor*; and ſhould have thought fit to have ſaid, in expreſs Words, *Let every Soul be ſubject to the Higher Powers; for there is no Power but of God; The Powers that be, are ordained of God; and He that reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God; and they who reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation*, &c. Had it been reaſonable for any *Clergyman* to have argued from hence, that the Subjects of *Great Britain*, *Venice*, and *Holland*, muſt have paid the *ſame* Obedience, in all Regards, to the *King*, the *Duke*, and *Prince of Orange*, which the Subjects of the *Turkiſh* Empire paid to the *Grand Signior*? There is hardly a Man living but ſees the Abſurdity of ſuch a Conſequence; and yet, we have Men of all *Orders* and *Degrees* amongſt us, that do every day, with great Gravity, make the ſame Concluſion, from the Subjection of the *Romans* to their Emperor; and infer, that the reſt of the World are obliged to pay the ſame to their Reſpective Princes; and grow very angry, if we yield not quickly to them. The *Supreme Power* is, indeed, in all Places, and

at all Times, the *ſame*, and muſt have the ſame Submiſſion paid to it, that is paid to the *Turkiſh* Emperor now, and was heretofore paid to the *Roman One*. But we muſt firſt know certainly *where* the Supreme Power is lodged; and that, I am ſure, we ſhall never know from the 13*th Chap. to the Romans*, which mentions not a word of *England*, *Venice*, or the *Seven Provinces*. For that I have ſaid, we muſt have Recourſe to the *Laws* and *Conſtitutions* of thoſe ſeveral Countries.

X. Let me then intreat you once more, not to lay ſo heavy a Load upon *this Chapter*, or any other Piece of Scripture. What need is there of charging *God* with all the Miſeries and Misfortunes that afflict Mankind, under a State of Slavery, by making them the Effects of his Commands; which muſt not be withſtood, altho' the Laws ſay otherwiſe, or leave Men, at leaſt, at Liberty? Have Princes any need of being courted to become the Tyrants and Oppreſſors of their People? Is not the *Exorbitance of Power*, the Prize they are ſometimes aiming at, and contending for, and the thing that ſeems to pleaſe them more, than the true Luſtre of the Crown, which they conſtantly wear with Innocence and Juſtice? What if it is not ſo with *us* at preſent? Who can anſwer for Futurity? If a *Good Prince* be complimented with more Power than belongs to him by the Conſtitution, who ſhall be able to with-hold it from a *Bad One*? And if you tell a Good Prince, *He has it from God*, a Bad One will tell himſelf as much, and become his own Flatterer. Look round the Neighbouring World, and think what *France* is now, what *Spain*, what *Germany*, what *Italy*, what *Swedeland*, and what *Denmark* is; and remember they were once as *Free* as you are now, and thought themſelves as little likely to put on the Chains they now groan under. The *Clergy*, I muſt own, had but too great a ſhare, in bringing on thoſe bad Changes; there was no doing ſuch great Things without them; they forwarded the cruel and ambitious Aims of *Princes*; the Villanous Deſigns of Wicked *Counſellors*, and the baſe Treachery of their *Fellow-Subjects*, and help'd to offer up the Liberties of their

their Country, to the *Will* and *Pleaſure* of their Kings. Only, *the 13th Chapter to the Romans* had no hand in theſe bad Buſineſſes; The Explanation of that Chapter to *theſe Purpoſes*, is, it ſhould ſeem, *peculiar to the Church of England*. Excuſe me, Brethren, if I am ſomewhat Zealous to remove this *Scandal*; I ever did, and ever ſhall account it a Reproach, to have it ſaid, that the *Churchmen* here, are *Enemies of Liberty*, and *Favourers of Arbitrary Power*: and, inconſiderable as I am, I always took the liberty to ſay, *We* loved our Nation as well as *the Diſſenters* did. But yet I cannot help excepting at leaſt a *Dozen* that are not content to be reckoned of the Church, but call themſelves *the Church of England*, who by their Principles are Slaves themſelves, and (which is worſe) would have all others to be ſo.

XI. I have now done with the *13th Chapter to the Romans*, and have ſhewed you, that it requires of no People, any *more Submiſſion* to the Higher Powers, than *the Laws of their ſeveral Countries* require: That it exacts *no other Obedience* than the *Laws* exact: That it forbids *no other Reſiſtance*, than the *Laws* of that Country forbid: And that it *Damns* no Man, for making ſuch *Reſiſtance* as the *Laws* of his Country allow him to make, be it more or leſs. And after all this, I have the Preſumption to ſay, that there is not a better Subject in all the *Queen's* Dominions, than I am: I tell my People that She is *the Lord's Anointed*; that She poſſeſſes the Throne, as well by *the Act of Settlement*, as by *an Hereditary Right*, as being the Daughter of *King James*; the Title and the Hopes of the *Pretender* (be they what they will) having been extinguiſh'd by *an Act of Parliament*; ſo that no Body can, or ought to come between *the Crown* and *Her*. I ſhew them moreover, that to preſerve the *Proteſtant Religion* (which would be utterly ſubverted, ſhould any *Papiſt* come to Reign over us) an *Act of Parliament* has quite cut off the *Hereditary Right* of more than *Twenty* ſeveral People, (all of them *Papiſts*) to ſettle the Crown upon *the Houſe of Hanover*, and given to them (as long as they continue *Proteſtants*) an *Hereditary Right* alſo. I tell the People alſo, that Govern-

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ment is *the Ordinance of God*, ſo beneficial to the World, that, without it, they could not live in Peace, nor have any Property, nor enjoy any good thing of this Life; nor call either Houſe or Land, or Meat or Drink, or Cloathing, *their own*; but that every thing would be taken from them, by ſuch as were cunninger, or ſtronger than they: And that they cannot love or thank God ſufficiently for ſuch a Bleſſing, as ſecures all others to them; and this convinces them how reaſonable it is, to pay *Taxes* and *Aſſeſſments*, to enable the Government to protect them from Violence and Injuſtice, and Fraud at home, and from their Enemies abroad. I take this Courſe to make them in Love with Government, which, I aſſure them, was *ordained of God* purely and only *for the People's Good*; and there is not a Man in the *Pariſh* but believes it, becauſe it is ſo much for his Intereſt; and *it is not truer that God is in Heaven.* I never dreſs up *Cæſar* like a *Hangman*, a *Raviſher*, and a *Publick Robber*, and then tell them *He is God's Vicegerent*, and is not to be reſiſted; but I ſhew them the difference betwixt an *Arbitrary Prince*, and one that governs *by Law*, and tell them how happy the People of *England* are, above what the *Romans* heretofore were, and moſt other of the Nations of the World now are; whoſe *Rights and Properties* are as much ſecured by *Law*, as the *Prerogative* of the Crown is: That they are ſubject to no *Will* and *Pleaſure* of a ſingle Perſon, but to known Laws made in part, by *Repreſentatives* of their own chuſing; and that they are not to pay a *Penny of Money*, but what the *Parliament* lays upon them publickly. This makes them value their *Conſtitution*, and reſolve to maintain it; which I alſo tell them they are as much obliged to do, as to defend *the Rights* and *Perſon* of their *Sovereign*. As to the Doctrines of *Paſſive-Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*, I ſeldom meddle with them, becauſe they always ſuppoſe ſome very hard Proceedings of the *Crown*, ſome notorious Infringement of the *Liberties of the People*, or violent Invaſion of their Right and Property; there can be no pretence for *Paſſive Obedience*, but where the Commands are Unlawful unrea-

unreaſonably Hard and Cruel, and ſo inſupportable; that they cannot be *actively obeyed*, and complied with-al; which is an *Odious Caſe* to put to the People, againſt their Prince. And ſo is the Buſineſs of *Non-Reſiſtance*; there is no ſpeaking to it, without ſuppoſing things are come to that Extremity, that the Subject cannot have his Remedy, or Security, in *Concealment*, by *Flight*, by *Petition*, nor by *Courſe of Law*; it neceſſarily ſuppoſes a forcible *Invaſion* on the Prince's ſide, which the Subject is not (it ſeems) to reſiſt. Theſe I ſay, are very hard and odious Caſes, for Preachers to put againſt their Princes, tho' the Concluſion always is in Favour of the Prince. And indeed I have ſeldom heard theſe Cauſes managed in the *Pulpit*, with that Succeſs that ſhould encourage one to do the like. The Prince has generally loſt more Ground in the *Affections* of the Audience, than he has gain'd on their *Reaſon* and *Underſtanding*. Nay, where the People have gone away convinced that they muſt not reſiſt, yet were they full of *Wrath* and *Indignation*, to think they muſt endure, ſo tamely, ſuch inſupportable Oppreſſions, as the Preacher had ſuppoſed, and, in his Paſſive Scheme, had laid down. For theſe and other Reaſons I ſeldom touch upon theſe Doctrines in the *Pulpit*, and really think I do my Prince more Service by my Silence, than if I ſhould urge them in the common manner. But whenever I am asked my Opinion of theſe Matters, out of the Church, I never am aſhamed to tell them what it is; it is what I have ſet down at the beginning of this XI*th Section*. I ſay with King *Charles* the I*ſt*. that the *Law is the Meaſure of the King's Power*. And I ſay with the preſent Abp. of Y---, that *the Law is the Meaſure of the Subject's Submiſſion*. And I think I may ſay of my ſelf, from both of them, that *a Subject is not obliged by Law to ſubmit to the Command of his Prince that is directly againſt the Law*. And this I think will ſay it ſelf, whether I ſay it or no. But I add moreover, that in ſome Caſes where the Law leaves me at Liberty (to avoid all Scandal and Offence) I may be obliged to obey a Command that brings not an into-

lerable Miſchief on me: To diſobey in *light Caſes*, would ſhew too great a ſlight of Power, and a diſreſpect to the Perſon of the *Governor*, which ought moſt carefully to be conſidered, and avoided if it can. In a word, I never preach upon the 13*th Chap. to the Romans*, but I endeavour to make the People underſtand the *Bleſſing of Government*, *to love their Prince*, and *pay their Taxes readily*: By which means I bring them to obey *for Conſcience Sake*, much rather than for *Wrath*; becauſe that Government is ordained of God for the good of Mankind, and Princes are appointed of him, to ſecure this End, and to ſee it anſwered by the Execution of good Laws; and *for this Cauſe we pay Tribute*. And thus the People ſee they have a very good Bargain of it --- The Prince *ſells* them Security and Protection from all Injuſtice at Home, and Enemies Abroad, for the *Rates* and *Aſſeſſments* which they agree (by their *Repreſentatives*) to pay him at ſuch certain times. But for your *Axes*, *Halters*, *Fire* and *Sword*, *Death* and *Damnation*, if they diſobey; they know it as well as I, and pray me to ſpend my time better. And yet I take my Opportunity to let them know, that Diſobedience to the Laws is *Damnable in the other World*, becauſe it is deſtructive of the Peace and Security of Mankind *in this*; which is the very *End* of Government, the very *Reaſon* of God's Inſtitution of it.

XII. It is high time you will think to put an end to this Commendation of my own Way of Preaching: I think ſo too; but I did it, to let you ſee that there is *other* uſe (and much more ſerviceable to the *Crown*) to be made of the 13*th Chap. to the Romans*, than what is commonly made of it, by moſt young Preachers, whoſe Underſtanding is not, generally, equal to their Heat and Zeal; and who run away with the *Words* and *Letter* of a Text, and leave the *true Senſe* and *Meaning* of it behind them. Would it not vex a Man a little, to hear a young Divine preaching upon that Saying of Chriſt, *Render to Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, and to God the things that are God's*: ---To tell his People that from the Diviſion of the Text, it was plain, that what-

whatever was not *God*'s, muſt needs be *Cæſar*'s, for no one elſe was concerned; and then to back it with that pretty Fancy, *Diviſum Imperium cum Jove Cæſar habet.* This, however had done no great harm, if he had not in the Application told us, that *All Kings* and *Queens* were the ſame things with *Cæſar*, and inveſted with the *ſame* Powers; and conſequently that all we had in the World, belonged to *them*, if it were not pre-engaged to *God*. By this we perceived that nothing was left *to us*; the *Tythes* were *God*'s, and all the reſt was *Cæſar*'s. Is this to be endured in an *Engliſh* Audience, if the Ears of every Man in the Pariſh were not bored through? And I would fain learn how much the Doctrine of thoſe *greater Men* differs from that of this Young Curate, who tell us, that all Magiſtrates, as well the *Subordinate*, as *Supream*, are ſo of God, ſo much his Ordinance and Inſtitution, that they are not *in any Caſe*, or *upon any pretence whatever*, to be reſiſted, not only *in the Execution of the Laws* (which every one allows) but even in the moſt outragious *Violation of the Laws*? So that a Petty *Conſtable* ſhall break my Houſe open, abuſe my Wife and Children, ranſack my Coffers, take what Plate, Money, or Goods he pleaſes, provided his Staff be painted with the *Queens-Arms*; only becauſe theſe Venerable Gentlemen have ſtamped *the Divine Authority* upon all *Subordinate Magiſtrates*. I know they will wipe their Mouths, and ſay, they have ſuppoſed no ſuch *Extream Caſes*. I ſay, we are never the more obliged to them for their Silence; for ſuch Extream Caſes will ſuppoſe themſelves, and will come firſt into every Bodies Mind and Conſideration. Say that all *Subordinate Magiſtrates* are the Ordinance of God, and the whole Pariſh will ſay *their Conſtable* is ſuch a Magiſtrate. Say that Magiſtrates are by no means to be reſiſted, tho' doing never ſuch violent illegal Acts, and what ſhall hinder a needy Raſcal got into an Office, from attempting to do them, protected for the preſent, not only with *the Royal* but *Divine Authority*? And all theſe Doctrines, and their dreadful Conſequences are, it ſeems, to keep the Peo-

ple from *Rebellion!* As if it were *Rebellion* to oppoſe illegal Violence! As if it were *a damnable Sin* to reſiſt a *Conſtable*, or (if you will) *a Juſtice of Peace*, committing Outrages *againſt the Laws*, ſuch as deſerve Impriſonment, Fine, or Death! Yet theſe are the eaſie, natural, and unavoidable Conſequences of the Doctrine of theſe *worthy Writers*, who ſeem to have little Regard to the *Country* wherein they live, and little to *the Laws* that protect them from thoſe Inſults and Violences, which they invite and tempt Men to commit, by making their Perſons *ſacred*; for by this new Divinity, we are about to conſecrate Four or Five Thouſand of the *Queen's Officers* at Home, and all the *Regiments* in *Engliſh Pay* abroad. Let theſe Learned Men look to it, for there is not one of the *Foot-guards*, but, if ſent by his *Officer* (whoſe Commiſſion runs ſtill higher and higher) is a *Subordinate Magiſtrate*, and is upon that Account *irreſiſtible*. You may be ſure I ſay theſe things with great Scorn; but yet theſe ſilly wicked Conſequences are not to be avoided, if you will take *theſe Doctors* Word for the Premiſes. How freely do they part with Peoples Eſtates and Liberties! How cheap do they make *Damnation! To be damn'd*, will, in a little time, come to ſignify no more than to be *excommunicated* in a *Spiritual Court*, for not appearing upon Summons, or for not paying Coſts of Three or Four *Shillings!* Surely, my Brethren will awake ſome time or other from theſe Dreams; altho' I know *my Voice* is much too low to reach them.

But Courage, *Countrymen!* For whilſt I was writing, under great Agony of Mind, the laſt Period, I received in the *Gazette*, the *Addreſs* of the *Clergy of* London *and* Weſtminſter, with their *Biſhop* at their Head: Who tell the *Queen*, "They acknowledge the moſt Illuſtri-
"ous Houſe of *Hanover*, as the next Heirs in the Prote-
"ſtant Line, to have the only Right of aſcending the
"Throne, and indiſputable Title to our Allegiance.
"We thank God (continue they) from the bottom

"of

" of our Hearts, for the Legal Provisions in this Regard " made to secure us from Popery and Arbitrary Power; " which we once, through the Divine Assistance vi- " gorously and successfully withstood, when they were " breaking in upon our Constitution: Nor shall we " fail to manifest an equal Zeal against them, whene- " ver, and by what Means soever, they shall meditate " a Return. From whence I do with great Satisfacti- on observe, 1. That the *Bishop* and the *Clergy of* London *and* Westminster do openly acknowledge, to the *Queen*'s Face, that an *Act of Parliament* can transfer the *Hereditary Right* of Succession from one *Person* to ano- ther, and from one *House* to another, and that such a Title is *indisputable*. The Proof of this, is, that the *House of* Savoy, and other *Houses*, are set aside, in fa- vour of the *House of* Hanover. This I am sure, the *Clergy of* London were far enough from venturing to say, when *the Bill of Exclusion* was on foot; then the Right of Succession was *De Jure Divino*, *indefeasible*, *unalienable*, *unalterable*, and I know not what. They did not pretend it to be barely *unreasonable*, and *hard*, and *inconvenient*, but absolutely *unlawful* to exclude the *Duke of* York. They altered their Mind, belike, when he was K. *James*. 2*dly*, They thank God heartily, for the *Legal Provisions* made to secure the People from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*. And so do I, to see this *Declaration* come from them, because it will help to acquit them of the Scandal of being *Friends to Ar- bitrary Power*; and because I hope they mean what they say. Now I would fain know how any Men can *thank God*, that the Laws are on their Side, in this or that Regard, who acknowledge at the same time, that if those Laws should be invaded, violated, and quite subverted, even to the utter Misery and total Ruin of the People, they have no manner of Right to de- fend them, by any *forcible* Opposition whatsoever, al- tho' the Person that thus subverts those Laws, has no such Power committed to him? What Security to a Subject is a *Law* against *Arbitrary Power*, when it is forbidden the Subject (by a *Superior Law*) to put that

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Law in Execution againſt that *Arbitrary Power*? What are *Privileges* worth, what are *Liberties* good for, that cannot be maintained and ſecured, by ſuch means as are only proper, only able to ſecure them and maintain them? How would it read, ſhould ſuch a Speech have been left as this, ſpoken to the *King* of the *Quadi*, by the *High-Prieſt of* Mars, at the Head of his *Sodality*? "We thank the Immortal Gods, *moſt Noble Prince*, "that we have *Laws* and *Statutes* to ſecure us againſt "*Arbitrary Power*, that bind you, by the Share you had "in making them, and by the Oath you took to go- "vern by them, neither to hurt our *Perſons*, nor de- "prive us of our *Liberty*, nor take our *Money* from us, "but in ſuch a manner and proportion as is ſettled by "our *Conſtitution*; theſe Laws and Liberties, the World "around, admire and envy to us. But yet we are "obliged to tell your *Subjects*, (as we often tell your "*Majeſty*) that whenever you pleaſe to break through "theſe Reſtraints, to invade theſe Liberties, and to ſub- "vert theſe *Laws*, their Hands are *tied*, they have no "other Remedy, but to implore your *Mercy* and For- "bearance, and beſeech the *Heavenly Powers* to divert "your Purpoſe, and inſpire you with a better Mind. "We tell your *Majeſty*, you have no *Moral* Power, "nor yet *Political*, to do theſe cruel and deſtructive "Things; but if you will go on, the *Gods* may call you "to an Account hereafter: But as for *us*, and all your "People, we are devoted to eternal *Snakes and Furies*, "if we lift up a Hand againſt you; for you are *irre-* "*ſiſtible*, not only in your Sacred *Perſon*, but in all "your *Miniſters* that act *ſubordinately* under you. I ſtay not to conjecture what Remarks ſo grave a Man as *Tacitus* would make on ſuch a Speech. I only ſay, That if the Prince abſtain from Violence, after this, he is a very good Prince, and will deſerve all Thanks and Praiſe imaginable; but what Claim or Title to ſuch ſolemn Thanks, the *Immortal Gods* ſhould have, paſſes my Reach and Underſtanding; becauſe (as I ſhould think) thoſe Gods were the very People (if you will pardon that bold Figure) that hindred theſe

good

good Laws from being any Security to the Subject, by impoſing an after-Law, that tied his Hands from maintaining them. And if the *London Addreſſers*, when they come to explain themſelves, ſhould mean thus, I ſay, they cannot compliment their Prince too highly, for the Preſervation of theſe Laws from Violence; but I ſhall be to ſeek, for what it is, they *thank God* ſo from the bottom of their Hearts. For a Hundred Laws are not worth a Chip, if he, *againſt whom* thoſe Laws are expreſly deſigned, has it in his Power to ſubvert and confound them when he will; becauſe thoſe Perſons, *for whoſe Safety* thoſe Laws were expreſly deſigned, are reſtrain'd from oppoſing him with any forcible Reſiſtance whatſoever. Had this Doctrine been true, and believed, how little had all the Laws againſt *Popery* ſignified in the Reign of K. *James*, had the *Subordinate Powers* at *Hounſlow-Heath* ſtood by their *Maſter*, and joined with him in the *Executive Part*? 3*dly*, I am glad to obſerve, that the *Biſhop* and *Clergy* take occaſion to repreſent to her Majeſty, and all the World, how vigorouſly they *have* oppoſed *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, and how vigorouſly they will *again* oppoſe them, if ever they offer to return and make head. How vigorouſly and ſucceſsfully they oppoſed *Popery*, is viſible and legible to all the World, to their everlaſting Honour. But their vigorous Oppoſition to *Arbitrary Power*, in that unhappy Reign, has the Misfortune not to be ſo well known to the Kingdom, unleſs they mean the Hand they had in bringing about *the Revolution*. The *Noble Head* of theſe *Addreſſes* had indeed ſuch a Share in that Tranſaction, that it never ought to be forgotten; and *he* oppoſed Illegal Arbitrary Power, *by all the ways* a brave Man, and a Lover of his Country could; but ſurely the *Followers* of him will not aſſume this Honour. Let them make out their Claim to this great Merit, and all Men living will be glad to own it. But till it appear, that they *did* heretofore vigorouſly oppoſe Arbitrary Power in their Prince, the Promiſe of doing the like, with equal Zeal *hereafter*, will and muſt be *fallacious*, or of little Uſe and Service;

Service; unleſs it be, to let us ſee, that they, who ſay they have oppoſed Arbitrary Power, and ſay they will *again* oppoſe it, muſt needs believe it *Lawful* for other People to do the like. But if they only mean (as I am afraid they do) by *Oppoſition*, the Preaching up *the Prince's Obligations* to keep his Oath, and not to exerciſe any Illegal Arbitrary Power; what will it ſignify, if, at the ſame time they tell their Audience, that St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* have tied their Hands, made all Laws *uſeleſs*, and all Nations *defenceleſs*, in Caſe the Prince will not regard his Oaths and Obligations, but will ſubvert the Laws, invade the People's Rights, Eſtates and Lives, and in a word, undo the Kingdom? Let them but ſay this plain thing --- That *it is not forbidden to this Nation, by any Law or Command of God, to ſave it ſelf and its Poſterity, from imminent and utter Ruin by Reſiſtance*, and we will ask no more. And if it ſtill be asked, who ſhall be Judges when this Ruin is ſo near, that it will want *Reſiſtance* to prevent it? I anſwer, *every Lord*, and *every Commoner in* Great Britain.

But after all, I am come back to ſay, that whenever the *Legiſlative Power* ſhall enact, that the *Prince's Proclamations* ſhall be accounted Sacred as the *Roman Edicts* were: That they ſhall do juſt what they *pleaſe*, and what they pleaſe ſhall be accounted *Legal*: That to reſiſt *them*, or thoſe whom they ſhall *Commiſſion* under *Hand and Seal*, tho' violating the known Laws, ſhall be *Rebellion*: Whenever this or more ſhall be done by the Legiſlature, I freely own *I ſhall be bound by it*; and own moreover, that S. *Peter*, and S. *Paul* will bind me to it. For that is the meaning of all I have been ſaying, That *the Word of God* obliges all Subjects to *ſuch Obedience*, and *no other*, as the *Laws* of their Country have obliged them to: And has forbidden *ſuch Reſiſtance*, and *no other*, as the *Laws* of their Country have forbidden.

FINIS.

390/18/38.